

*Art Jacobs' lecture*

Apart from pre-conference tactic of propaganda, this paper mentions the following as Commie tactics to be used at the Afro-Asian Conference:

A. Shaping the multilateral action of the Conference itself

Aim: a short harmonious conference resulting in a communique reflecting a united front for peace, - and the establishment of a basis for further trade and political relations between Commie countries and the other conferees.

Method: Make all apparent concessions to establish innocent and peaceful intentions.  
Make every effort to avoid or eliminate any other controversy between CPR and other Conferees, or between other conferees (e.g. India and the Moslem countries).  
Attempt to allay Nehru's reported fears of CPR domination of the Conference.

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CPR will play by ear, ~~s~~ between the minimum and maximum demand (maximum would be exclusion of all US military and economic aid and bases from Africa and Asia)

1. CPR will ~~endorse~~ endorse Colombo and Bogor meetings, and ~~will~~ assure the Conference of other peoples democracies not attending: USSR, N Korea, etc.

Will state willingness to initiate discussion with any conferee re new trade or diplomatic relations.

Will offer technical assistance and advice without conditions or reservations.

Will issue invitations to Peking.

CPR will seek establishment of a permanent organization or Secretariat for the Conference

3. Propaganda Action

Will offer resolutions denouncing racialism, colonialism and imperialism...or will enthusiastically concur in such resolutions

Will regret absence of countries forbidden to send delegates by their imperialist masters...

4. Will perhaps have some other power attack SEATO

B. Bilateral Action

Make special gestures to nations having western adherence (Turkey, Iran, Japan)

Alleviate Nehru's fears as to Chicom intentions

By varying degrees of persuasion and pressure try to get friendship, support or subservience (thru military aid, economic aid, trade, technical assistance - according to need and susceptibility of each country)

Avoid CPR identification with either side of any standing controversy between any other two conferees,

Use conference to spot, develop and perhaps recruit agents within other delegations.

- C. External Support will be manifested in silencing of Commie propaganda just prior to and during conference in those countries whose delegations are in the conference, to avoid apparent Commie pressure on positions taken by those delegations.

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## A. Tactics Preceding International Conferences:

1. Preparation of a strong program

(They arrive at conferences knowing just what they want. Their preparation of a program goes as far as arranging a set sequence of speeches to be used at a tactical moment.)

Example: At the Geneva Conference, the various Communist delegations, particularly during the Korean sessions, gave indication of participation in a planned sequence of speeches.

2. Preparation of propaganda and propaganda channels

(Their controlled front groups and press are supplied with pertinent line which is emphasized during pre-conference publicity)

3. Preliminary diplomatic maneuvers

(They contact various diplomatic personnel ~~who~~ of other countries scheduled to participate in conferences, and attempt to influence their attitudes.)

Example: Prior to the Berlin Conference, Soviet diplomats talked with British and other western diplomats, stressing the line that the U.S. was ~~the~~ the only obstacle to European settlement, that Russia had no aggressive intentions. They also emphasized that the Conference would be doomed to failure if the West were to insist that all-German elections must precede German unification and peace treaty.

4. Selection of an adequate staff of delegates

Example: At the Geneva Conference, a substantial number of the Chicom delegates who were charged with security (about one third of the whole delegation) could speak German; a lesser number could speak French.

Participants from Communist side very security conscious. They employ bodyguards who surround the delegates in an established pattern of movement.

Example: It is widely claimed that the Communists had made a fifth column of the leftist French press before the Geneva Conference, and that the influence of the leftist press had produced in France a discouragement which doomed the Conference from the start.

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## B. Tactics Within The Conference Halls:

## 1. Inflexibility

✓ (Unless highest-ranking Communists are present, any change in negotiations has to be referred back to headquarters; even when new directions arrive, they have to be obeyed to the letter)

✓ Example: In London, in 1944, negotiations for the establishment of an emergency European Inland Transport Organization, which involved nothing detrimental to Russian interests, dragged along until Potsdam in 1945, when Stalin gave the personal nod for Russian participation.

✓ 2. (Each point, however minor, has to be thrashed out in detail, apparently to provide the Communist delegate with proof that he has really "beat his head against a stone wall".)

✓ Example: At the London Council of Foreign Ministers of September 1945, the phrase "in the main" was contained in brief instructions. Weeks of ~~negotiations and daily~~ daily argument on this phrase took place in successive conferences. The ~~Commie~~ line is likely to begin as a hard, rigid position and gradually soften up as it develops to a more conciliatory tone, on terms of reference. Only then, did the Soviet Government permit ~~its~~ its delegation to approve the inclusion of the controversial phrase.

## 2. Reiteration

✓ (This is a variation of #1. In the absence of new direction, the Communist delegate reiterates his original stand even when faced by new points of view on the part of other conference members. At times, reiteration is a refuge for the Communist delegate, when he can't answer the opposition, or wants to stall for time)

✓ Example: At the Berlin Conference, after the Western delegates had agreed to the almost impossible terms the Soviets demanded for an Austrian peace treaty, ~~the~~ Molotov, taken by surprise, could only fall back on reiterating regular Communist line arguments, since he had no expectation or intention of coming to an agreement over the treaty.

## 3. Solidarity

✓ (The various Communist delegations at a conference stick together according to a prearranged and well-understood plan.)

✓ Example: At Geneva, the various delegations made a series of speeches evidently planned ahead as to exact sequence. They likewise exhibited fairly ostentatious respect for each other in matters of decorum and protocol.

✓ At various ECAFE conferences, it has been the practice for various Communist delegates to propound their presumably separate views, to be followed at the end by "generous support" from Big Brother USSR.

## 4. Procedural Wrangling

✓ (They stall ad infinitum on procedural matters to avoid including in (or excluding from) the agenda matters of strong importance to them.)

✓ Example: The best proof of that this is a well known tactic, is the Conference when Dulles immediately accepted the Soviet agenda, and thus cut out the procedural debate which had characterized all previous conferences.

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B. (Continued)

5 ~~4~~. Slanting the Agenda

(Communists attempt to gain acceptance of an agenda which is, in effect, a statement of their solutions to various items.)

Example: During the Korean peace talks, the Communists submitted the following agenda item, whose acceptance would have obviated the need for discussion: "To establish the ~~22nd~~ 38th Parallel as a military demarcation line, the armed forces of both sides to withdraw 10 kilometers from the 38th Parallel and simultaneously complete the withdrawal from Korea within a definite time limit, leaving the evacuated areas demilitarized, and the civil authority would be restored by 25 June 1950."

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6. Introduction of <sup>irrelevant</sup> ~~non-pertinent~~ material

(Insistence on attempt to include in conferences matters extraneous to what the other parties think is the agenda, usually for political reasons, or for the effect on world ~~prop~~ opinion)

Example: The Soviets repeatedly attempted to have the Chicoms included in the Berlin Conference, ~~which~~ whose agenda dealt only with German and Austrian problems. The argument was that Chicom participation would help world peace. Actually, a dozen Chicoms were present at the Conference as observers.

At the Geneva Conference, there was a consistent attempt ~~to~~ by the Communists to force the consideration of political matters prior to the military matters on the agenda. There was also an insistence of full treatment of Laos and Cambodia, though Vietnam was the arena of dispute.

## 7. Accusation

(They frequently accuse other conference members of crimes which they themselves are about to be confronted with, - bring up their grievances, real or imaginary, first, in order to get the edge on publicity)

Example: At the Potsdam Conference, the Soviets made bitter and prolonged attacks on the presence of British troops in Greece, the Dodecanese, Syria and Lebanon. After the westerners had been worn down by these wrangles, the Soviets could more easily face the Western protests about brutal Soviet tactics in Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria. By these tactics the Soviets encouraged their supporters in Greece, upheld their reputation for hostility to colonialism in the Middle East, and weakened any coordinated western grip for loosening Soviet grip on the three satellites.

## 8. Influencing of conferences by concurrent military activity

Example: The assault on Dienbienphu was engineered on eve of Geneva Conference. Viet Minh delegates arrived at Geneva in triumph, met by CHOU En-lai, Gromyko and Nam. Some delegates who had previously been thought to be part of the Chicom delegation then turned out to be Viet Minh participants. The Chicoms blandly undertook delaying tactics at the very time that Bidault was trying to arrange a battlefield truce for Dienbienphu wounded.

## 9. Unilateral approach

(Particularly when an impasse is reached, the Communists will make separate appeals to various conference delegations, playing upon special interests, hopes, or fears. On aim of this tactic is to divide the opposition.)

Example: As the position of the French in Indo-China grew progressively worse, the Viet Minh delegates made separate approach to Mendes France, knowing he was hard pressed by French opinion.

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At the Berlin Conference, in the interests of the proposed Geneva Conference, the Soviets held out rosy prospects of trade possibilities with the Chicoms to the British, and prospects of easier IndoChina settlement to the French.

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~~Exploitation~~  
10. ~~Utilization~~ of knowledge of opposition personnel

(They play upon personality traits of their fellow conference members when they have enough basis of knowledge to slant their approach.)

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Example: At the ~~Geneva~~ Council of Foreign Ministers in London in 1945, Molotov with great pertinacity tried to trip up Secretary Byrnes when the latter indulged in his proclivity for off-the-cuff remarks. Molotov ~~deliberately~~ baited England's Bevin by making him angry, and then taking advantage of Bevin's trait of being apologetic for his anger. Molotov used petty tactics to slight Bidault's pride, at a time when the French were feeling sensitive, by neglecting to inform him of changes of ~~the~~ schedule which Molotov had arranged with the other conferees.

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### C. Tactics Outside the Conference Halls

#### 1. Solidarity of Communist delegations

(Little or no mingling with foreign groups, outside of official intercourse)

Example: At the Geneva Conference, the Communist delegations stuck together. In the halls they marched in formation almost approximate to rank. Outside the halls, they did not move around singly, but always in groups of 4 or 5.

#### 2. Security

(Communist delegations include a sizable proportion of guards. Leaders are always under protection of their security men.)

Example: At Geneva, of the three hundred Chicom delegates, about a third were security men.

#### 3. Cordiality to ~~Selected~~ Selected press and news outlets.

(Press and other propaganda channels are well arranged in advance of conferences. During conferences ~~the Communist~~ Communist delegations entertain leftist and neutral pressmen, and give them special handouts.)

Example: Soon after the start of the Geneva Conference, the Chicom delegation held a cocktail party for neutral and Communist press representatives. This was succeeded by various small dinners and movie presentations. Chicom information officers handed out large quantities of free propaganda material designed to enhance prestige of new China.

#### 4. Propaganda activity vis-a-vis other delegations

Example: At Geneva, Chicoms gave chiefs of other delegations handsomely bound collections of Chinese art. All delegations were sent copies of a somewhat less fancy brochure with flattering photographs of Communist China, emphasizing cultural achievements, as well as economic and industrial activities.

Communist press outlets were part of delegation. Press statements often appeared simultaneously with the actual occurring. The same applied to closed sessions.

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